1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

An Apache speaks.

727 A 539

23. Gila fields lie stretched out yonder.
Eager to see them,
Softly I crept thither,
This my feather headdress shaking.

A Papago speaks, of the Apache.

24. Plumed Mountain stands afar;
Toward it I crept;
A feather headdress
Was shaking.(26)

25. Kill the Apache; kill the Apache!
Dry the skin; dry the skin!
Soften it; soften it!
I am happy with it
A-a a-ah!
But there are still Apaches left.(9) [13]

727 The last song is used also for the dance around the pole.

After the war dance came the ceremony of purification, described below. Next morning the visitors might perform the visiting dance, or they might contest with the home village at racing or kickball. Sometimes the festivities lasted several days and large amounts of property changed hands during the betting.

[525]

WARRIOR'S PURIFICATION [14]

726 723 The taking of a scalp or a trophy was the ritual act which brought a man into contact with the supernatural. The mere shooting of an enemy, without touching him, did not have this effect, and a man who was willing to fight, but shunned the ordeal of purification, might hand over his privileges and duties as an enemy slayer to a comrade. The leader sometimes instructed his men before starting: "If you wish to become an enemy slayer, you will take a scalp; but if not, do not touch the Apache scalps

[13] A similar Pima song is quoted by Russell, p. 333. Other victory songs on pp. 337–38.

[14] Russell (pp. 204–5) describes a very strenuous purification among the Pima, but gives no speeches for it. In his account the warrior and his guardian wander about for sixteen days instead of sitting and waiting for a vision.

[171]

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431 727 783 was a mature man, with no father to make his gifts and those contributing were:

Enemy Slayer: A horse, and a dressed buckskin
Enemy Slayer's younger brother: a horse, and dressed buckskin
Another younger brother: a willow basket
Another younger brother: a dyed cotton belt and a buckskin
Sister: a plaited mat and a willow basket.
Younger brother's son: a basket of corn and beans
Sister's son: a basket of corn and beans.
Children of the other siblings gave baskets of food. There were a few gifts from villagers not remembered. (26)

525 After this ceremony and after the intervillage games described above, there was always gambling: the occasion *par excellence* for exchange of goods on a large scale with people who were otherwise strangers. The Papago had no public markets and the people who had opportunity to travel for trade were comparatively few. But, for the intervillage games, several villages might move bodily to one spot taking with them all their worldly possessions to bet on the games. This formed one of the principal occasions for distribution of goods and it was often by this means that Mexican knives and cloth found their way to the northern villages and American goods to the south.

The games played have been described under another heading but the method of exchange may be noted. The Papago used, for matching bets, a word which means literally "to meet" and they matched the stakes article by article. If a buckskin shirt was bet on one side, a shirt of equal value must be found among the stakes on the other and the two tied together. Baskets, pots and skins must be placed two and two. Horses and cattle must be in the same corral but since it was at some distance from the racetracks, pieces of manure were tied together to represent the animals. When the games were over, the winner took both articles. Beside the public games, there was a great deal of private betting constantly going on, between women and men alike. It was no uncommon thing for a person to be stripped of everything he owned and the ceremonial aura which hung about all games thus lent sanction to a movement of goods which might not have taken place otherwise, among people with so little surplus for trade.

RECENT CHANGES

178 The above system of economics prevailed in the childhood of present old informants. At that time, two gradual changes were going on. The disturbed condition of Mexico was causing movement

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GAMES AND BETTING

Legend says that, when the Underground People were considering their emergence, they sent Gopher up to spy on the earth and he reported favorably in these words: "There are many people there playing all sorts of games." This gives some indication of the extreme importance of games in the Papago system. Men and women played whenever they were at leisure and each village had its famous athletes and its experts in games of chance. These had attained their eminence through supernatural experiences and were not only an honor to the village but a source of income. For all games involved gambling. It is a question whether the subject of games should not head a chapter on economics for there was probably more large scale exchange of goods in the betting on games than in any other situation of Papago life, not excepting marriage. Although bitter hardship kept Papagos frugal most of the time, they abandoned caution in their wagers. This intimate connection of betting with all sport has proved a problem for Whites who wish to revive the excellent old games. To the Papago mind, those games do not exist without the accompanying bets. 525

All games for adults had probably some ceremonial connected with them though little remains of it at present. They could be played informally by any group of men or women who had leisure, for the two sexes never played or bet together. But they appeared in their most elaborate form at the intervillage meets which took place after harvest when a formal ceremonial of challenge was observed, magic songs were sung and all the surplus harvest was wagered on the outcome. These games may be divided for descriptive purposes into two classes: the sedentary games which were almost all pure games of chance, and the athletic contests, involving chance and prowess.

GAMES OF CHANCE

Hidden Ball (wɔ́pitah, laid down).

Four sections of hollow reed are filled with sand and in one of them is hidden a wild scarlet bean, Erithitheria flabelliformis. One group of players hides the bean while the other guesses its whereabouts. The sections of reed are about four inches long, cut so there is a joint closing one end while the other is open. The reeds

[p. 139]

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

●525 are marked with notches colored with soot and each has a name, and, to the Papago mind, a personality.

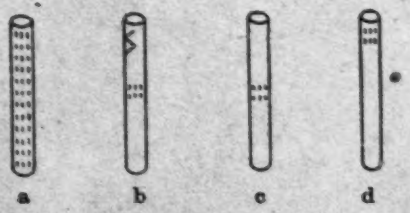

Fig. 1.

a) Old: Man three vertical rows of notches.
b) Old: Woman a zigzag line near the top said to represent the tatoo mark on a woman's chin. Sometimes the Old Woman is unmarked.
c) Black belly: black dots in two rows around the middle.
d) Hair-tied-up: black dots in two rows near the open end.

The number of dots in the rows seems not to be constant since several different numbers were met with, while Russell for the Pima, gives another number still.[1] Apparently the requirement is that the "Old Man" should be covered with dots, that Black Belly should have them near the middle and Head Tied Up near the end, while the Old Woman has none at all or a zigzag line. The four are thought of in sets of two, Old Man and Old Woman being partners and also the two "young people". This elaborate personification of the reeds, however, has nothing to do with the game which could quite well be played with unmarked sticks.

Two men play on each side, one to hide and one to guess, but any number more may bet, sing and assist the leaders with suggestions. The four who are to play squat in pairs opposite each other. A blanket is laid across their knees and two or four men stand ready to hold it over the side hiding the bean until the operation is concluded. Sometimes the men are hidden, heads and all.

To decide which side shall hide first, each takes one pair of "partner" sticks, hides the bean in one of the two and tosses the pair to the opponents. Their guesser is supposed to pick up the tube holding the bean and the side guessing right does the hiding first. If there is a tie, both sides guessing right or both wrong, they continue until one side wins.

The side winning this preliminary takes all four sticks, is covered with the blanket and hides the bean in one of the four. There is

[1] Russell, p. 176.

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525

much science in this for, the bean being lighter than sand, the opponents are supposed to tell by the balance of the tube whether it contains all sand or part bean. The hider, therefore, inserts sand in varying quantities each time. The hiding being done, he throws all four tubes down before his opponents, open ends toward them. The hider's side sing furiously to distract the guessing. The guesser makes up his mind by the apparent weight of the reed and by the expression of the hider's face as the guesser lets his hand hover first over one reed and then another. A good hider will achieve a poker face by keeping his eyes down so the guesser can catch no glint in them.

The guesser does not speak but, having made up his mind, arranges the reeds in position. First he eliminates two in which he does not consider the bean to be by laying them crosswise, one over the other. Next he lays down the one he thinks contains the bean and then the fourth one. They should lie as in fig. 2 or occasionally the two eliminated tubes lie parallel (fig. 3) with a furthest away from the chosen tube.[1]

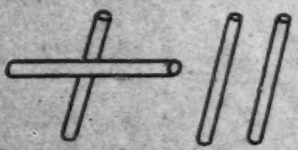

Fig. 2.

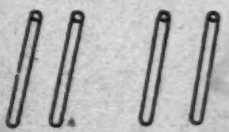

Fig. 3.

He picks up first the third tube, where he thinks the bean is and empties out the sand. If the bean is there, he does not score but has the privilege of hiding the bean again. If the bean is not there he next empties the fourth tube, (d) and if the bean is there he loses 4. Then he takes b, the upper one of the crossed tubes and if the bean is there he loses 6. If it is in (a) the lower one of the crossed tubes he loses 10.[2]

[1] Although Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 352, states that the Papago expect to find the bean in the fourth tube, contrary to the usual Southwest custom, my informants said definitely that it should be in the third.

[2] This corresponds in amounts with Maricopa scoring, Spier, 1933, p. 341. Spier, however, states that the Pima and Papago expected to find the bean in the fourth tube while my informants said that it was in the third as is usual in the Southwest. There are, doubtless, many variations in scoring.

One informant thought that the guesser simply picked up one tube and if it proved the wrong one he lost "the value of the tube". Values were: Old Man, 4: Old Woman, 10: Black Belly, 0: Head Tied, 6. This is similar to one form of Maricopa scoring, and gives a reason for the differentiating of the sticks.

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525 Scoring is done with grains of corn a pile of which is placed on the ground between the two sides. When one side loses by a wrong guess, the opponents take the proper number of grains from the central pile. When the central pile is exhausted the winners take from the losers' pile. They play until one side has all the corn.

Culin states that the original pile should contain a hundred grains[1] but the writer as previously explained, doubts if the Papago counted so high.

A game of hidden ball usually lasted from sunrise to sunset. It could be played informally by a few men who had leisure time on their hands but all important games were formal occasions. Each village had a few men who were famous gamblers, known for unmoved faces and trickiness in hiding the bean. Such men had usually had a supernatural experience which gave them the requisite [787] power. One informant, after killing an eagle, had been visited by the dead bird who promised him success and told him always to fling down the tubes with their openings toward the east. He never lost.

Two famous gamblers in a village might challenge each other. Then they would ask for a meeting in the council house, announce their intention and each would ask for volunteers on his side. His relatives and those who believed in his luck would join him and spend the intervening time collecting goods to wager. Their leader generally did the guessing and had an assistant as hider. All the others offered suggestions and sang to confuse the opponents. If they thought the leader's luck was failing they would put forward [787] another guesser. A young man who had had a vision might suddenly offer himself in this capacity and win great fame.

If the game was between villages, a challenge might be issued in the spring for a meet after harvest. Each village held a meeting and selected its principal guesser and assistants. Almost all the male population assisted with suggestions.

525 773 The songs for hidden ball were, like other magic-working songs, the high points of a myth recounting a legendary occurrence. A young wife was pregnant when her husband's older brother, who had wanted her for himself, killed her husband. The murderer fled and became a famous gambler. The child, growing up, continually asked his mother as to his uncle's whereabouts and how he could take vengence. He decided to gamble with his uncle and to bet his life, and for the purpose, invented the game of hidden ball.

His mother told him where to find the reeds and he marked them as they are now. He made Hair-Tied first and that reed was always

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[1] Culin, p. 254.

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the most powerful. When he practiced the game, he put the bean first in Old Man but that reed is not powerful and his opponents guessed it. Next he tried Old Woman which also they guessed. Then he put it in Hair-Tied-Up which they did not guess. The superstition still is that the first bean of the game will be in that reed. He played with his uncle, won all his goods and finally his life. 525● 773

Only one of the songs was transcribed:

Hair Tied Up, that is my pet!
Before my adversaries I drop it.

Another form of hidden ball was *tciwit wopitah*, (laid down in the earth) where the bean was hidden, not in a reed but in one of four piles of sand. The two lines of players sat with one long heap of sand between them. The blanket was held over the hiding side and over the heap of sand while the hider, holding the bean, ran his hand along the sand and dropped the bean into it. He then separated the sand into four mounds; the blanket was removed and the opponents guessed which mound held the bean. Their procedure was to go direct to the mound selected and pull it apart. If the bean was there, they obtained the privilege of hiding it. If the bean was not there, their opponents scored one. Scoring in this case, was done by making marks on the sand and ten marks won the game. There were songs for this game also but none was recorded. 525

The hand game was called *i nonhai ap-i-wopitah* (in their hands laid). Four men played on a side, each having a stick one to two inches long tied to his middle finger by a loop of string or cotton cloth, which must be of the old, handwoven sort. Some thought that the sticks should be of four different woods: mesquite, ocatillo, palo verde and acacia. To decide which side should play first, a man of one side hides one stick while a man of the other guesses. A clap of the guesser's hands indicates that he has made his decision and that the hand to which he points must be opened. The guesser goes through the same sort of feints used in the modern game of Up Jenkins to make the hider open his hands before the clap. If the hider does so, the guesser's side gets the sticks to hide. Also if he guesses correctly they get the sticks but if incorrectly the hider's side gets them.

After this preliminary, the hiding side put their hands behind them, while attaching the sticks to the middle finger of either the right or left hand. The guesser may guess all the hiders at once or individually, thus: "In the outside hands, the inside hands" (the terms right and left are not used) "In those two outside, those two

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525 inside." Or he may point to players individually, always feinting first. Those who have been guessed correctly, leave the game, those guessed incorrectly, remain and hide their sticks again, while, for each wrong guess, the guessers lose one point. When all the hiders have finally guessed correctly, the guessers take the sticks.

Only one handgame song was transcribed, evidently part of a long story:

> The fly woman, the slim woman sits,
> The pumpkin in the pot (before her).

[171] *kinyskut*. This dice game, like parchesi on a large outdoor scale, is played also by the Pimas[1] and by the Tarahumares.[2] The latter calling by the Spanish name *quince*. Since kut is a Papago nominalizing suffix, the word *kinyskut* might seem to have the same origin.

For kinyskut a space is cleared on the ground about eight to ten feet square. Each corner is marked with a hole one half inch deep and with four other holes extending along the sides of the square in each direction. These holes have names, the furthest from the corner being called the end, the next, end-top, then middle, corner-bottom and corner. At the upper right hand corner there is a semicircle of five holes outside the square. The game consists in moving stones, as counters, around the square beginning with this upper right hand corner, each move being made according to the shake of the dice.

The dice are four smooth sticks of ironwood, about ten inches long by one and one half inch wide, flat on one side, rounded on the other. On the flat side they are marked in red and black as shown below.

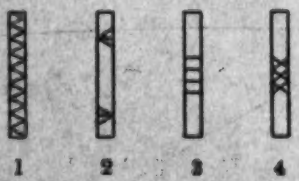

Fig. 4.

Stick no. 1 counts 15, no. 2 counts 6, no. 3 counts 4, no. 4 counts 14.

The player holds all four sticks upright in his right hand and taps them on a flat stone which he holds in his left. Then he gives a slight jerk to the stone and the sticks fall apart on the ground. The count is as follows:

[1] RBAE 26, p. 176. [2] Bennett.

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525●

stick no. 1 face up, others down	15
stick no. 2 face up, others down	6
stick no. 3 face up, others down	4
stick no. 4 face up, others down	14
all sticks face up	5
all sticks face down	10
two face up and two face down	2
one face down and three face up	3

The players are two or four men, never women nor children. They move the counters the number of places indicated by the throw, beginning with the semi-circle outside the upper right hand corner. East and West play together, moving clockwise around the circle, while North and South move counter clockwise. A player may move his partner's counter if it is advantageous. If his move brings him to a hole occupied by a counter of his opponents, that counter is "killed" and must go back to the beginning.

Only one *kiniyakut* song was remembered and that was to be sung at home, before playing:

Down I shall throw!
The smooth stone I shall move
Move it to the corner. (26)

GAMES OF CHANCE
(for women)

ko'omai (stick dice). The dice were four split sticks, their rounded outer sides with the bark on, or blackened with charcoal, the inner side left white or painted red. Each woman kept her own set of sticks. They sat in a circle and each one staked something which was placed inside the circle. Then each one in turn tapped her sticks on a flat stone and let them fall, as in kinakut. The scoring was:

all black	2
all white	1
mixed colors	0

Each girl threw once with her own set of sticks, then if she scored anything, once with her opponent's. If she scored 0, she lost her second throw. Four points won the game and the winner took all the stakes.

Girls habitually played this on winter afternoons when they were at leisure. They would be surrounded by a ring of both men and women, betting on the result, while the girls themselves might bet any of their clothes or of their own manufactures. [517]

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● 525 *taawo* (bone dice) was played with four small bones, two inches long, from a cow's foot. They were thrown by each player in turn while all bet as to whether they would fall down or stand upright.

mikitowua, (similar to American "jackstones".) The game was to move small pebbles in various ways during the time that a thrown ball was in the air. The ball was a smooth round pebble, about two inches in diameter which each girl found for herself and called her *coika*, pet. The pebbles were four smaller ones of equal size. The girl playing threw up the pet and meantime made successively the following moves with the pebbles:

1. Pick up pebbles one at a time, in right hand, each during one throw.
2. Pick up two at a time.
3. Pick up three at a time, then one.
4. Hold left hand with finger tips touching ground, fingers apart. Push one pebble into each interstice.
5. Hold one pebble in the hand with the pet and throw both up ten times, then place pebble as in no. 4.
6. Lay left hand on ground, throw pebbles across it.

This game is played by children for pleasure as well as by women for gambling. Four girls would play at it all day.

ATHLETIC CONTESTS
(for men)

wuitcu'i (kickball.) This was the typical Papago sport at which all young men were expected to show prowess. They practised constantly and a man going a long distance across the desert would kick his ball in front of him rather than run without it. The stimulus made running easier.

The ball was four inches in diameter, made of a small stone covered with mesquite gum or of mesquite wood hewn to spherical shape and polished with a stone. The men ran barefoot and kicked the ball ahead of them by pushing the big toe under it. The toenail in time, grew down over the toe and those of old men who have played all their lives are horny shells at least an eighth of an inch thick. Shoving the ball with the outside of the foot was also allowable.

The track was some particularly flat portion of the desert where there was little vegetation. The length was decided on for each contest and marked by a man standing at each end, an average length being twenty miles. Generally, two men played on each side, but more were possible. One man from each side started with the

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ball and his partner was stationed about 150 feet along the track. As the ball came down the track this second man rushed out and kicked it and took it along until the starter caught up and took his turn again. Any number of men might play if the sides agreed, each one kicking as he got a chance. When they approached the marker at the far end of the course, they left the ball, ran around the marker, and came back to kick the ball toward home. 525●

Watchers accompanied the runners to cheer and to see fair play. After horses became common, the watchers were always on horseback.

Long distance racing without the kickball was almost equally popular. It is hard to calculate the territory covered without actually going over it but informants point out areas which should mean twenty-five or thirty miles. The race lasted from sunrise to sunset and was generally between only two men. They started from one village, raced to a distant village and returned, choosing their course over the desert as best they could. At frequent intervals men from both sides were stationed to watch their progress. Later there were horsemen who followed them all the way. *i-wopoitcu'i* (making them run for themselves — footrace).

Every summer village had a racetrack near it, about a mile and a half long and eight feet wide. From this space every bush had been cleared away and it was swept daily with greasewood branches that thorns and pebbles might not injure the runners' bare feet. The youth of the village, boys and girls, practised running here and there were frequent contests between them on which all the villagers bet.

The rival runners started, not side by side but from either end of the track. If the race was between two individuals, they simply ran the length of the track or some lesser distance agreed on. The runner who first reached his rival's starting point had won.

An old woman told of this sort of racing in her girlhood. "I beat a woman at *ko'omai* and won a shawl and a necklace. Then she said, 'I will race you,' and she brought out everything she had, to bet: a sleeping mat, a basket and a big pot. We went to the racetrack and all our relatives came with us. They were all betting. We chose two umpires, one of her male relatives and one of mine. Then they laid hair ropes down at each end of the track and the two men started us. All the people yelled. But pretty soon her relatives stopped yelling; she was not winning. I came in first and the people brought the things she had bet up to my house. I heard her crying that night out in the desert, because she had lost everything." (26)

When several ran on each side, they ran in relays. The sides were divided and a number of runners from each stood at each end of the

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525 track. Each side had six officials, three at each end. One had charge of the runners and decided when they should take their turns. In cases where the whole village ran, he had to grade the men according to their capacity. If his side was short of runners, he decided which ones should run twice or three times. The second man pushed the runner off when it was his turn, using a stick of cactus rib, which he held horizontally in both hands. The third took charge of the incoming runner and saw that he passed the outgoing one before the latter started. Failure to do this constituted a foul and his side lost the race. The same penalty held if one side started off a runner from the opposite side instead of one of its own. If a runner was disabled during the first lap, the race started over again: if during subsequent laps, the victory went to the opposite side.

The race was won when one side got a lap ahead. To measure this, two markers stood in the middle of the track, each holding a stake, which was to mark the point where the two runners passed each other. For the first lap this would be in the middle of the track. As one side gained, they would pass on alternate laps, first nearer to one end, then nearer to the other. A stake was placed at each of these points. It was called the moving line. As one side gained, these stakes would move further and further apart until they measured a gain of half a lap, when they would begin to move together again. When they met, the race was over.

525 Runners were barefoot. Men wore only a breechclout, girls tied
302 the ends of front and back aprons together so that they formed a very short skirt above the knee. Men tied their hair in a knot as for war and also bound it with a thong; girls matted it over the crown of the head and tied the whole mass with thongs. For big races the upper part of the runner's body was painted with some large, distinguishing mark in white clay which would identify him to his side. This was done by the man in charge of the runners, who called their turns. The marks remembered were horizontal stripes for one side, vertical for the other, or large crosses, large spots. They were decided on by the markers from each side and had no symbolism.

ATHLETIC CONTESTS
(for women)

525 Women ran relay races just as men did, but over a shorter course. They did not try long distance racing or kickball but they played double ball.

tokhi (double ball.) The "ball" was usually two bits of cactus rib, three inches long and an inch and a half in diameter, tied together

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with maguey cord so that they were about three inches apart. A short length of maguey cord with heavy knots at both ends was also used. The stick was made of catclaw (Acacia greggii) cut to the height of the player and with the end bent at the angle of a ladle.

The playing ground was a cleared space about "one hundred steps" long. If there were no trees at either end to mark it, sticks of cactus rib would be set up. The players all gathered in the middle and threw up the ball. It was picked up and thrown with the sticks, the aim being to carry it past the opponents' goal. The myths tell of women travelling from village to village to play this game, so enthusiastically that they left their babies uncared for. Spanish missionary nuns, as late as two generations ago, confiscated the sticks and burned them in order to get the womens' attention for household tasks.

The children's games can be played without betting though small wagers are not uncommon.

The ring and pin game is played with a stick of hard wood to which is attached a buckskin thong or a string of yucca fibre about eighteen inches long. The cord is strung with five rings made by slicing through a small squash when it is fresh. The pulp dries out and the circular strips of rind shrink until they resemble flat leather rings, from four to two inches in diameter and with an opening at least an inch across. The largest is placed nearest the tip of the stick and the smallest at the end, where it is kept from falling off by a solid tab of squash rind. The game is to swing the cord and then impale as many rings as possible on the stick.

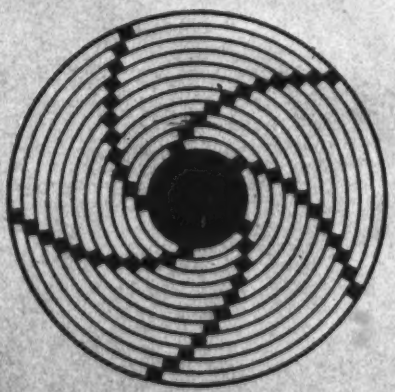

Fig. 5.

Papago Basket Designs used for Game Scoring.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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never tasted anything like it. Wheat flour makes me sick! I think it has no strength. But when I am weak, when I am tired, my grandchildren make me gruel out of the wild seeds. That is *food*.

I used to help my mother. When I was very little I began to grind the seeds, just for a short time. When I was ten years old I did it all, for then a daughter should be able to take over the work and let her mother sit down to baskets. But I am telling you about the early days when I could only grind a little. Then we pulled the grinding slab inside the house by the fire and my mother knelt behind it. I picked the dirt out of the seeds and handed them to her, and the pot boiled on the hearth on the three stones that we kept there.

My father was very busy, for he was the chief of our village. People used to bring their quarrels to him, and I remember him sitting crosslegged under the arbor we had to keep off the sun, listening with his head bent and his arms folded, while people talked.

[684] "My daughter disappeared with a man on the last night of the maiden's dance. I want her beaten." "How many stripes?" "Twenty." "Fifteen," said my father. He was a gay man who liked to war and to gamble. He did not like to beat women.

Some days nobody would come, and then he would gamble with the other men, throwing the sticks that we use for dice, and then moving stones around a circle as many moves as there were marks on the stick. We used to hear the men singing in a low tone, before they threw, to give them luck:

[717] Down I shall throw
The smooth stone I shall move
Move it to the corner.

They smoked, too, and I can smell their tobacco yet, the strong wild tobacco that we do not have any more. It was tied in a long corn husk, so white, so nice, and when one man passed it to another he said: "Friend!" And the other said, "Friend."

When the sun was high, high, my brothers and my sister came home, and as each one came my mother gave them food. She dipped the gruel out of the pot into a bowl, for my mother was a good potter. We all had bowls in our house. Only my father and my mother ate out of the same one laughing together, because they liked each other. When my mother dipped out our food she said: "Do not eat it hot. You will have wrinkles." She set mine on the grinding slab to cool. "It will make you industrious," my mother said. My father said to the boys: "Do not eat it hot, no matter

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

So I did that way and so did the other girls, all except a few wild ones. When we went to the hills to gather fruits, we went all together and an old woman with us. When we went to the pond with jars on our heads to get water, we went in a group. Sometimes there would be boys there watering their horses. The wild girls would throw gravel at them, then laugh and run. I never did that. 159x 596 834

I was a good housekeeper. I did all the cooking and I fetched the water and ground the corn. I could catch the horses, too, and saddle them for my brothers. But I could not go out alone on the desert as they did. Why should I want to? That is man's work and no woman with a right heart wants to be a man. But I was excitable. My heart was not cool. When I had finished my work, I always wanted to race, and I was a good racer; the fastest of all the girls. And I was a gambler. Yes, always I have been a gambler and a lucky one. When I had ground the corn and fetched the firewood for the day, I used to run out to the houses where my girl cousins lived: "Come on. Let's throw dice." 159x 462

We had dice which we made of sticks, painted black on one side with charcoal from the fire. Every girl had four, and we kept them always with us as we kept our red paint. We sat in a circle, and all the people gathered to watch us and bet on the game. Each girl in turn tapped her sticks on a stone and threw them. Two points if all black, one if all white. And if of different colors, let the next girl throw! 159x 525

We bet everything on that game. I had baskets which I had made and a mat. My father had brought me shell beads from the River Country and all those things I wagered. My mother did not mind; she was looking on. She would not say a word if I bet everything I had, even my clothes. But I never bet her things or my sisters'. Neither did my father. He bet his own things and he gambled all the time. That was his name, the Gambler.

Once I played against a grown woman from another village. First, I won her red woven girdle, then a whole red dress, then a Mexican scarf. She went back to her house and got everything she had, a basket, a mat, a big water jar. She said she wanted to bet them all, but she would race me on the race track.

So we went to the track and all the people came with us, betting. We chose two men to take charge; a relative of mine for the starter, one of hers for the finisher. I started from one end, she from the other and all the people yelled. But then hers stopped yelling and mine went on. She was not winning. I reached her relatives who stood at the end of the track where she had started, and she was still far from the rope. Her relative had to make mine stop yelling and then he said I had won. I heard her crying that night in the desert because she had lost everything.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

My father was a gambler, too. He used to go all over our country playing against the men. Beads and necklaces he used to bring me back from the River People. And sometimes he took all the family with him when there were races between the villages and all our young men ran. But he would not let me run at those races nor bet on them.

"Wait till you are married," he said. "When you have a husband he will take you to the feasts. They are for married people, not for young girls."

He would not let me go to any feasts at all, not even to the maiden's dances, when they happened in our own village and to my own cousins. When a maiden came of age, the people sometimes danced every night until the moon got back to where it was when they began. The men and women danced with their arms over each other's shoulders. We wore nothing on our bodies above the waist then. The young men liked that. It is said that some young girls did not come home at night. It is said that some babies were dropped in the arroyo and no one knew.

They told me that there were women who went alone to those dances, the wild women, who did not work and who went about painted every day. Corn ears they painted on their breasts and birds and butterflies, each breast different for the men to see. And a woman's breast, in that dance, comes just where a man's hand can reach it.

I began to dream of those wild women. They can haunt you just as the Prisoners do. They make men and women crazy, sometimes so that they run out and die. Then you must make little clay dolls, a man and a woman, and have the medicine man sing over them to quiet the sick person. I was not bad enough for that, but sometimes, when I sat alone at my basketry, it would seem to me that I saw a boy and a girl making love and it made me wild.

And I dreamed strange things. Once my mother sent me after water and I was all alone; the other girls had gone earlier in the day. I had to cross a dry wash. As I came up to it, there I saw a snake three times as thick as a man. That wash was full of caves, and the snake's head was in one of them, his tail in another, with his body stretched all across the wash. When I tried to cross it, he would hit me on the legs. I ran home without the water and my father was angry. My mother came with me to see what was the matter and there was no snake there.

And I kept hearing flutes; flutes in the morning and evening. Such lovely music that I would stand still in the house to listen. I thought my crystals were growing again.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

You see, that song makes you laugh. It does not say everything. They liked it, those River People. Their women came out to us with baskets of food on their heads, tortillas, squash, and succotash. They fed us all for our beautiful singing.

Then we collected the stakes that we bet on the race. Yes, I tell you, we bet everything. Men took off their deerskin shirts, women piled up their baskets. The River People made piles just like ours, shirt for shirt and basket for basket. Out beyond the village the horses were tethered two and two.

Out came the runners in white loin cloths, with beautiful red designs on their backs so we should know them. Asking for Cactus Seed ran that day, and Running Wind and Short Wings. Short Wings was the best and our side won. My father won a blanket and a shawl.

Then all night we sang for the River People. We sent a man to find out their names and then our men made songs with those names in them. Beautiful, funny songs we sang to those people all night long and never a mistake in the names. Next day they paid us for our singing. Piles of wheat and corn they brought out to the dance place and then they called our names. But funny names they called, because this time was gay. When they asked us, we only told them funny names.

One of our singers was so fat we called him Seven-Yard-Shirt. So a River woman put a pile of wheat on the ground and she called out: "Seven-Yard-Shirt will get his pay here." He ran to get it and she threw squash stems at him, but he took it and ran away. Oh, we were loaded with wheat and cotton when we went riding home from the River Country. And dried beans and corn and extra horses that our young men led along!

After that, whenever we went to sing and to race and to dance, I went, too. Yes, that is how it was when I was a married woman.

VII

We were careful when the first baby was coming. Our men were not going to war any more then, so I did not have to keep my husband home. That had always worried my mother, for if a man kills an enemy at such a time, his child will die a violent death. But probably the man will not kill an enemy, he will be killed himself, he is so weak from his wife's weakness. But my husband did not kill any rabbits so that the baby should not have a choking sickness, and he kept away from rattlesnakes so it should not have convulsions. I was kind to the people in our village who looked sick or ugly, and I never laughed at them, so that my baby should have a good body.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

524 one thus exposed the score was 4; No. 2 gave a score of 6; No. 3 counted 14, and No. 4 counted 15, the other three sticks, of course, falling with the plain or undecorated side uppermost.

[525] Both of these games are usually witnessed by a number of spectators, and there is considerable betting on the result.

TREATMENT OF THE SICK

753 It is the belief of the Papago that only a portion of human illnesses and ailments are due to material causes. The portion thus attributed consists of bruises, cuts, and minor bodily discomforts, but what we term "major illnesses" are explained in a different manner. The causes for these are believed to be psychic in character. Certain illnesses were attributed to sorcery and the treatment of such illnesses was in reality a contest between the psychic ("medicine" or "magic") power of the doctor and that of the person believed to be working the evil on the patient. Part of the doctor's skill consisted in his ability to determine who was working the evil, after which he matched his power against that of his adversary. If his power were the stronger his patient would recover; if his were the weaker the man would die. Other illnesses were attributed to spirit birds and animals, to the spirits of the dead, and to other causes of like nature, but in every instance the cause of the disease imparted the secret of its cure to some medicine man, or "doctor." Singing formed a part of the [533] treatment of the sick and the songs were imparted together with instructions for the treatment. Herbs and other material remedies were sometimes administered, but the knowledge of their use was supposed to be obtained in "dreams."

756 The term "doctor" will generally be used in this chapter to designate a man who treats the sick. The term "medicine man" is more general in its application and may be applied to anyone who achieves results by "magic." The power of a medicine man was psychic in its character and, continuing this terminology, a medicine man may be regarded as a "developed psychic." He might use his power in treating the sick, or he might be a clairvoyant, or he might use his power to evil ends, thus developing his power in the way he desired.

753 The Papago have a tradition that sickness was scattered abroad when Earth Magician disappeared into the ground. (See p. 21.) Comparison with the beliefs of certain other tribes makes it clear that the "sickness" thus spread abroad was not a definite ailment but a general disposition toward illness which became present in the air. A parallel in our own thought is the statement that "the air is full of

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

159 In 1849: Unusual snowfall, killing men and beasts.
173 In 1850: Successful attacks by the Apaches on the Maricopa at [721] Red Rock, as well as on the Papago near Magdalena, Sonora.

In 1851: Severe disease, called "black vomit," appeared. Its symptoms were painful fits and cramps. Dark-colored blood would flow from the mouth. When the sufferer vomited, it was a sign of relief. Many Indians died, including some medicine-men. (This may have been yellow fever.) [464]

In 1852 and 1853: Papagoes repelled attacks by the Apaches in Arizona. [721]

In 1854: Papagoes fought with the Apaches at Santa Ana, Sonora.

In 1855 and 1856: Death of relatives.

In 1857: American soldiers were killed by Mexicans at Caborca. (This alludes to the defeat of the filibusters under Captain Crabbe.)

In 1858: Birth of a girl relative. She afterward became makai (medicine-man.)

In 1859: The Papagoes in the winter went to dance with the Pimas, below Sacaton, in order to secure wheat. (It was also the custom for the Pima to help at the feasts of the Papago, the reward being in either case grain or domestic animals.) [505]

In 1860: Prominent chief died.

In 1861: Papagoes in Mexico engaged the Apaches and were victorious. The booty, consisting of shields, bows, and arrows, was sold to the Mexicans for mescal brandy and maize. [721]

In 1862: A fight with the Apaches in Mexico.

In 1863: His first marriage took place.

In 1864: His first child was born.

In 1865: Apaches captured one Papago, who later escaped.

In 1871: Apaches made peace with the whites at Arivaipa.

In 1874: Apaches attacked San Xavier.

In 1875: Ball games with foot-racing at Caborca, Sonora. He won in betting, one horse, saddle, and bridle.

In 1876: Disease, accompanied by the loss of hair. Many died. (Perhaps this was typhoid fever.) [464]

In 1880: The railroad arrived at Tucson.

17:Castetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

252 Cooking was done in a small roofless enclosure out-
412 side. There the woman kept her mealing slab—a rectangu-
415 lar block of granite hacked into shape with another stone. She had a mortar made of a section of cottonwood log, a large porous jar for drinking water, and a few smaller pots for cooking. Most of her utensils were baskets, for this migratory people found pottery a burden. There were large willow baskets for storage, others for winnowing, for parching seeds, and for eating and drinking. Willow baskets, tightly woven and water-tight when wet, took the place of dishes. Some households owned no pottery except the water-jar.

291 Clothing, in the older times, was of skins, the man
302 wearing a breechcloth of buckskin, the woman a buckskin skirt, while those who could trade for cotton had a one-piece, wrap-around cotton skirt. Both sexes wore their hair long but tied it up with a strand of grass while at work. For warmth they often covered their bodies with grease, and on ceremonial occasions added to the grease
[304] red and white paint. Women were tattooed with four lines from mouth to chin, in zigzags, dots, or merely straight lines.

291 The Papagos were a sandal-wearing people. For long journeys they made sandals, first of basketry materials and later of cowhide, but while at home they went barefoot. Occasionally we hear of the rabbit skin blanket which was so long known among their neighbors both of Arizona and California.

442 Papago women, busy with basketry, pottery, and the gathering of wild foods, did little work at agriculture, so the men took care of the fields and did the hunting. They also had to make frequent war expeditions to pursue marauding Apaches who raided their villages to take away crops, women, and later cattle and horses. Men also made trading expeditions to the Pimas and into Mexico. As a
525 means of acquiring wealth in these primitive times gam-
556 bling should not be overlooked, for success in the ancient

17:Castetter & Underhill N,E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

Indian games of hidden ball, stick dice, and "quince" was 525
one means to fame and prosperity. Athletic contests in 554
which the youths of the different villages contended at kick ball and relay racing were yearly events, and a fast runner, famous in racing, was as highly esteemed as any warrior.

In government[1] the Papago unit was the village. There 631
were several large villages, each with a few outlying settlements which were governmentally a part of it, obeying its officers and taking part in all its ceremonies. The head man of this village had no executive authority but was rather 622
a patriarch and a priest. He knew the ritual for the different ceremonies and had charge of the sacred objects belonging to the village. His title has been translated "Keeper of the Smoke."

The brush house in which he lived was made extra large and was used as a meeting place by the men of the village, who formed an informal council. The Keeper of the Smoke passed his functions to a male relative or descendant, but there was no rule of primogeniture. Any of his relatives who seemed best suited would be instructed by him in the duties of office, but the village as a whole must finally ratify the choice. The villages each had a 624
crier who called to the council meeting and to war. They might have an elected war leader if the Keeper of the Smoke were not fitted for battle.

After the coming of the Spaniards a much more rigid 577
organization was adopted. The Spaniards installed in their 622
villages a "governor" who was an executive with authority and power to punish evil doers by flogging. At least in the part of Papagueria nearest to Mexico this custom continued until recent times, so that now there is much confusion between the old idea of the village patriarch and the modern one of governor or chief.

The Papagos were divided into sibs with descent in the 614
male line. Even in tradition, however, these gentes did not affect the marriage rules; one knew to which gens

1. This section dealing with government and social organization has been abstracted from *Papago Social Organization* by Ruth Underhill (in preparation).

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NU29

The Papagos are not addicted to
intoxicating drink, but smoking and gambling are so common among them that they will even stake their clothing on races, either by men or horses, and on the simple games with which they are familiar.

RELIGION.—The Papagos are nominally Catholics. Adults and children wear crosses and charms. They believe in witches and evil spirits, and buy charms to insure good luck.

At the little village of Ki-ki-wah, where there are a number of returned scholars, it was said that a simple service was held by these "graduates", in which they explained on Sundays the things they had learned about the white man's religion. At the village called Gunsight 2 Mormons have been living among the Indians for nearly 2 years.

EDUCATION.—The Papago youth of both sexes show considerable capacity for mental culture. Many of the Papagos speak Spanish fluently, even after having been at school for 3 or 5 years. When at home on their vacations they only hear Papago and Spanish, which tends to the disuse of what English they have acquired. They are docile, mild in disposition, and well inclined toward their teachers. They learn slowly but surely. The chief difficulty of receiving any permanent benefit from educating them is that they are so disastrously affected by the conditions which meet them when they return to their homes. They virtually return to barbarism and all old influences of a nonprogressive character.

The boys readily learn improved methods of agriculture, also the trades of tinsmith, blacksmith, and carpenter, while the girls learn sewing, cooking, and the general duties of housekeeping.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.—During the 3 years of the Tucson Presbyterian mission school 73 Papago children have been enrolled. There are 30 now on the rolls. The number enrolled at the San Xavier reservation schools is about 20. At Sacaton there are 15 Papagos on the roll. The government school there is well conducted.

It will be seen that in the district visited, with the addition of the Papago scholars at San Xavier, not more than 100 in all of these children are in school. The total number of Papago children of school age is probably about 2,000. Their parents will exercise no authority to secure their attendance at school even when they wish them to go, nor, on the other hand, do they hinder them if they desire an education.

PATHOLOGICAL.—The Papagos are very liable to consumption and pneumonia. This arises from the exposure to which they are subject in inclement weather, as all mud roofs leak in protracted rains and a pitch sufficient to carry off the rain would cause the adobe itself to wash off entirely. Many of the tribe are pitted badly with smallpox. Children are subject to measles and whooping cough in addition to lung difficulties. The Papagos have no medical treatment whatever among themselves, and in case of sickness resort to the "medicine man" with his mummeries.

The Indians seem to be able to deal with flesh injuries, but are powerless in cases of disease or fractures of bones. In acute local pain they sometimes put a pinch of cotton on the flesh and burn it there, repeating the process on a new spot at a little distance. Ordinarily their only resource is stoical submission.

SAN CARLOS AGENCY.

Report of Special Agent STEPHEN WHITE on the Indians of the White Mountain Apache reservation, Fort Apache subagency, and the Apache, Mohave, and Papago Indians of the San Carlos agency, Arizona, from August to November, 1880.

Names of Indian tribes or parts of tribes occupying reservations: (a) Arivaipai, Chilion, Chiricahua, Coloteros, Mimbres, Mogallon, Mohavi, Pinal, San Carlos, Santo, Tonto, and Yuma-Apaches.

The unallotted area of the White Mountain reservation is 2,576,000 acres, or 3,950 square miles. The outboundaries have been surveyed. It was established, altered, or changed by executive orders November 9, 1871, December 14, 1872, August 5, 1873, July 21, 1874, April 27, 1876, and January 26 and March 31, 1877.

Indian population June 1, 1880: White Mountain Apaches, 2,121; White Mountain reservation, Fort Apache subagency, 1,920; total Apaches, 4,041; Mohave reservation, 851; Yuma reservation, Mohaves, 240; total at agency, 4,632.

The San Carlos agency is situated on a mesa immediately below the junction of the San Carlos with the Gila river. The altitude is about 2,900 feet above sea level. The records of the United States signal service show that the highest temperature for the summer of 1880 reached, July 6, 106°, the lowest for the winter of 1879–1880 was January 20, being 20°. The earliest frost in the fall of 1879 was November 2, and the latest frost in the spring of 1880 was March 16.

The agent reports to the Indian Office that many government buildings at San Carlos are in bad order. They consist of: No. 1, an adobe building 1 story high, 30 by 60 feet, one-half used as agent's dwelling, one-half for storehouse for grain, $1,000; No. 2, a 1-story adobe, built around a court, whole length about 300 feet, used for agent's offices, telegraph office, several rooms for dwelling, storerooms, shops, etc., whole in bad order, needs new roof, $3,000; No. 3, several small adobe buildings in rear of No. 2, used for shops, storerooms, etc., $200; No. 4, an adobe building, 1 story high, 32 by 53 feet, used as a meal shop, $800; No. 5, an adobe building, used for doctor's office and hospital, in bad order, $500; No. 6, a new stone building, 1 story high, 30 by 120 feet, with 4 cross partitions, built for storage, $5,000; No. 7, a stone building, same size as No. 6, now building, for shops; No. 8, a frame steam gristmill, $6,000; No. 9, a frame water gristmill (at Fort Apache), $6,000.

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a The statements giving tribes, areas, and laws for agencies are from the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1880, pages 454–462. The population is the result of the census.